

PEACE NEWS

No. 972 Feb. 11, 1955 4d. (U.S. Air Express) Edition: 10 cts.

Registered as a newspaper.
Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

NEHRU WARNS Arms will not bring peace

By MARGARET TIMS

PANDIT NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, received a great ovation from the Indo-British audience which packed and overflowed the Central Hall, Westminster, at a meeting of welcome arranged by the India League on February 8.

The Chairman was Reginald Sorensen, MP, and amongst others on the platform were Krishna Menon, Bertrand Russell, Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, MP, representing the Conservative Party; and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, who introduced Mr. Nehru as one who helped to interpret the peoples of Asia to those of Europe and America.

Before speaking, Mr. Nehru was presented with a garland and a choir sang Indian national songs.

Pandit Nehru said his major job was to help in building the new India. The achievement of independence was a great thing, of which both Britain and India could be legitimately proud; a still greater thing was to have achieved it in a peaceful and friendly way.

"More and more I come to believe," said Mr. Nehru, "how important the means are, the method you use in doing something. We think of the ends, our objectives; but unless you are very careful about your means your objectives will run away from you."

India had made mistakes, but always kept it in mind not to do things in the wrong way, because this left a trail of difficulties and problems.

He referred to the unifying of nearly 600 independent Indian states, and the breaking-up of big feudal estates, by peaceful means; this required generosity, but the cost of conflict would have been much greater. If there was something special in that achievement, it was due to Gandhi and his teaching.

People did not always recognise the social and economic revolution that was taking place in India, because they could not think of a revolution by peaceful methods. Every Indian, man and woman, received the vote. But deep-rooted social customs such as the caste system could not be changed immediately by passing laws.

The Far East

The success of plans for increasing food production and for industrial and rural development had brought a new feeling of self-confidence in the common people. Public opinion was also very much affected by India's foreign policy. Simple people expressed their appreciation of it, even when they did not understand it.

"But they understand that we serve the cause of peace," said Mr. Nehru, "and they like that, and therefore they approve of it."

Referring to the crisis in the Far East, Mr. Nehru said one thing was obvious: "If you seek peace you cannot get far in your search through war-like methods. You must be peaceful in your approach."

He deplored the use of strong language by statesmen; if gentler and more polite language were used half our difficulties would disappear.

That was one lesson India had learnt from Gandhi. India's peace policy was the natural growth of her thinking in the past. Peace was necessary from the strictly practical point of view.

Since the atomic bomb and nuclear weapons every intelligent person must realise that war not only did not solve any problem but would presumably bring ruin to the world; only unthinking persons who did not understand the situation could desire war.

India's policy was not "neutral": that term had no meaning in peacetime, and its use showed how war-like our thinking had become. India pursued a policy of her own making; her approach was peaceful and constructive.

Mr. Nehru referred to the joint declarations with China, Burma and Yugoslavia on the principles of peaceful co-existence. The act of making such statements created conditions in which people would act up to them.

"We make our own position clear," said Mr. Nehru, "but always avoid strong language."



Articia Photo by courtesy of International Help for Children.
She has lived her life in war-torn Yugoslavia; he faces the future . . .

HOLIDAY PLANNING NUMBER

BRITAIN COULD BE INTO WAR

Danger from Australian and New Zealand treaties with U.S.

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

THE barrage of questions in the House on Monday revealed an embarrassed Foreign Secretary trying his best to avoid saying in public anything which the American press might take to be a criticism of American Far East policy.

Like Sir Winston Churchill the previous week, he failed to make the bold, plain, outspoken declaration which would show the whole world that Britain definitely would not go into any war resulting from the American decision to hold on to Formosa.

That is what Britain wants, and Sir Anthony Eden was far too secretive and evasive to impress anybody who knows how the British Foreign office and British diplomacy works.

If a large scale war were to break out and if the present government had not the courage to break away from American entanglements, then we should be dragged in.

Eden gave us an inkling of how it would work. Australia and New Zealand would be brought in as the result of their separate agreements with the USA and then we would be told we could not desert little New Zealand and Australia. Of course, Sir Anthony Eden would pose as the broken hearted peacemaker and strike his theatrical and self-righteous gestures, but he would be dragged in.

And if Russia backed China and it became an atom bomb war in which each side would try to drop its H-bombs first to deter each other—well the prospect has been vividly described for us by Lord Russell already.

We are living in times of great tension which are shown by the fall of M. Mendes-France one day, and that of Mr. Malenkov on another, and one can detect this in Britain by the emphasis and attitudes of Front Bench politicians more than by political crises.

END MILITARY IMPERIALISM

In these days Mr. Attlee has stood out in strong relief to Sir Anthony Eden. He has said the right thing at the right time about Formosa, and with the backing of the Labour Party in Parliament, and with British public opinion behind him.

The time has come for absolutely clear plain speaking to America about the dangers to world peace, of her policy in the Far East and an expression of our unequivocal determination not to be drawn into the maelstrom there. We have abandoned imperial adventurism in India. Why should not the USA realise that the time has come for the ending of military, strategic and political imperialism in the Far East too.

If she does that we could go a long way to averting the threatened danger of World War III and all that it would mean.

That is what needs to be urgently and boldly expressed in Parliament these days and it was

done from the Labour opposition benches last Monday.

Mr. Attlee had a good Press over the weekend not only for his attitude on Formosa and China, but about a speech which he is reported to have made at the Defence Committee of the Labour Party in which he is said to have called for a more realistic policy towards our obsolete, top-heavy, enormously expensive armaments and armed forces.

I do not know what Mr. Attlee said at the Defence Committee of the Labour Party for I am no longer a member of it.

ATTLEE AND THE H-BOMB

Four or five months ago, when we started re-discussing our defence policy in the light of what Mr. Attlee had said in the House about the new position created by the arrival of the H-bomb, we were all invited to submit our different memoranda, and I dutifully submitted mine which was promptly rejected because it was pacifism.

Readers of Peace News may remember it was published in these columns. It was a summary of my pamphlet "H-bomb over Britain," which has suddenly again become topical as a result of the Attlee speech.

Apparently Mr. Attlee has called for a more realistic defence policy as an alternative to that of the present government.

That is all to the good. We are living in the days of obsolete navies, armies and air forces and, what is equally important, obsolete ideas and foreign policies too.

I believe that the man in the street knows this and if the Labour Party could rise to the occasion it could win the next election by a bold, positive peace policy.

Last Sunday, "Cross-Bencher" in the Sunday Express made the comment: "See the brilliance of the Attlee plan. He knows that the electors are passionate for peace."

Now I am no believer in the brilliance of Attlee. But he has tenacity and integrity when he grasps an idea, and with all sorts of people from Liddell Hart and Lord Russell to the Daily Mirror pointing out the crass silliness of our so-called defence in the H-bomb age it is time that one of our front benchers took a lead that has been lacking for a long time.

If Attlee has made up his mind to do this then he will find an astonishing backing in the country which is not for German rearmament, nor for conscription, nor for policies which imply war.

But the sands are running out. It is a race of sanity against time and the evil forces of the world.

Are H-tests legal?

PEACE PLEDGE UNION ASKS FOR
WORLD COURT DECISION

THE Executive Committee of the Peace Pledge Union has written to Pandit Nehru concerning Formosa and the use of Atomic Weapons.

Commenting on the fact that India has made real negotiation possible on occasions, and has attempted to reconcile conflicting points of view, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU went on to tell Mr. Nehru:

"At the moment, we are specially concerned about the situation which has developed around Formosa, and also with the serious consequences of the development of atomic weapons. In regard to the latter, the problem seems to divide itself into at least two heads. There is the question of the Marshall Islanders and the Japanese fishermen affected by the more recent tests. That would seem to involve the rights of the Islanders and of all using the high seas.

"There is further the question of the actual legality of such weapons. We would, therefore, ask whether it would be possible for the Indian Government to make some representations to the Permanent Court of Justice with a view to testing legality, and to the United Nations, or one of its organisations, with a view to raising the question of protection from the effects of H-bomb tests.

FORMOSA

"In regard to the Far East, we have always pressed our own Government on the matter of the admission of the representatives of the Peking Government to UN, and we hope that the representatives of the Indian Government will continue to do all that they can to secure for the Peking Government her rightful place in UN.

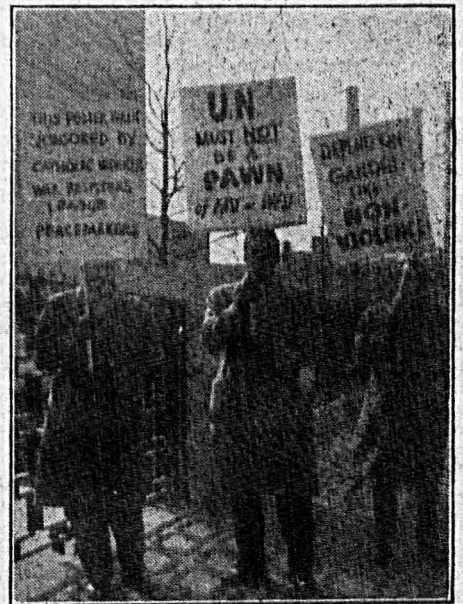
"So far as the immediate issue of Formosa is concerned, it is a great satisfaction to us to know that you will have been taking your share in the conference of Prime Ministers, and we hope that you will use your influence to secure a peaceful settlement of the dispute

□ ON BACK PAGE

PEACE PICKETS AT WHITE HOUSE, U.N.



TOP.—Three of the 60 American pacifists who picketed the White House on January 29, the day President Eisenhower signed his resolution after it had been approved by Congress—giving him a blank cheque authorisation to wage war in the area of Formosa. The demonstration was sponsored by the War Resisters League, Catholic Worker, Peacemakers, and Philadelphia Fellowship of Reconciliation. BELOW.—On January 31 when the United Nations Security Council opened a debate on the Formosa issue, pacifists conducted a poster walk in front of the United Nations building calling upon the nations to avert a third world war.



DEATH OF BEATRICE BROWN

Beatrice Brown, Secretary of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for 17 years to 1943, died on Feb. 2. An appreciation by Max Parker will appear next week.

PEACE NEWS

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"To the man who is truly ethical all life is sacred, including that which from the human point of view seems lower in the scale." —ALBERT SCHWEITZER.

The United States war party

IF war breaks out in the Far East it will be because there is a powerful minority in the USA that desires a war policy.

This factor, that has not been sufficiently realised, must be a prime consideration in future British policy. The American alliance is not a safeguard; it places the British in a situation of danger that they have no need to accept, in pursuit of a policy with which they are in disagreement.

The very fact that Britain may be committed to a war for a policy that it has repudiated, actually adds to the danger that such a war may come upon us.

President Eisenhower's first moves to seek a cease-fire—with a view to a more permanent settlement—meant the abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek and a rebuff to the numerous US politicians and Service chiefs resolved that there shall be an attack on the mainland by Chiang with formidable backing by the USA.

These politicians and Service chiefs are a war party. They conceal their policy of deliberate aggression by a monotonous repetition that China is an aggressor. Their whole policy is formulated on the assumption that at the appropriate moment they will make war on China; and they have made clear in many recent utterances that they believe the appropriate moment is now.

The war party in the USA immediately became active with a view to the destruction of the effect of Mr. Hammerskjold's visit to China and the turning of President Eisenhower's tentative steps towards peace into a war policy. Their point of pressure, following the decision to evacuate the Tachens as a preliminary to deciding on a "cease-fire" line, was Quemoy and Matsu. Their pressures resulted in ambiguous declarations by the President regarding these islands, which he has claimed would give him flexibility in negotiating, but which have also left it open for the war party to bring further pressure for action that may precipitate war.

According to Senator Case in the Senate debate on January 28, fifty US warplanes—half fighters, half bombers—had already been rushed to South Korea to be in a position to destroy the Chinese airbase in the Shanghai area.

On the previous day Senator Morse had drawn attention to the fact that for the past two or three years Admiral Radford had been leaning to a defensive war and he said "we fear that he may hold the view that if such a war is to be fought, now is the time to fight it."

Mr. David Lawrence, Editor-in-Chief of the journal of US big business, News and Report, repeatedly writes in most inflammatory terms, and recently remarked that what the President's new move had done was to warn "the Communist enemy" that there will be no "privileged sanctuary" this time, indicating that the restraints that prevented General MacArthur from bombing beyond the Yalu would no longer apply.

"At last," writes Mr. Lawrence, "the United States—forced by circumstances to stand alone—has given an example of firmness and resoluteness which somehow the United Nations as an alliance thus far has failed to give from the day it authorised the intervention in Korea."

The United Nations, it will be observed, means an alliance to the people for whom Mr. Lawrence speaks, so they are hardly likely to be impressed by the fact that the Charter of UN requires that "all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity... of any state." The Knowlands and the Lawrences, however, do not regard the United Nations as an organisation that should exercise control over American policy. As the AFOR remarks below:

"As in other post-war situations, a big power first makes its own decisions on all matters it regards as vital to its interests, and then turns to the United Nations."

We could fill Peace News with statements by politicians, journalists and Service chiefs aimed at nullifying the effects of the approach made by Mr. Hammerskjold. These have come from Mr. Dulles, Mr. Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, whose pronouncements are generally directed to the creation of a war situation; and there have, of course, been repeated statements from Senator Knowland, and the consistent attitude of Vice-President Nixon is one of aggressive belligerency.

The lesson we have to learn from all this is that, irrespective of the outcome of the present crisis, there is an urgent necessity for the representatives of Britain to get the basic issue settled in the United Nations, and that, should the USA prevent this, there is an even more urgent necessity that Britain should sever the ties that bind it to American policy.

Mendes-France falls

THE Government of M. Mendes-France has been overthrown through the influence of the French settlers in North Africa. He had favoured putting more power into the hands of the native population as a move towards ultimate self-government. The French settlers, like the majority of the British settlers in Kenya, are against any policy that threatens to put genuine power in the hands of the majority of the population.

African issues bulk more largely in French politics than in British because the Metropolitan territory and the overseas territories are regarded as a whole. Representatives of the African territories (predominantly representatives of the White interests, of course) sit in the French Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The settlers are therefore able to exercise a much more direct influence in French politics than is the case in Britain, although French and British are equally opposed to any genuine development of democratic self-government for the indigenous populations.

The French unitary system puts its colonial issues on a similar basis to those with which the Russian Government has to deal. France like Russia has a highly centralised control, and the native inhabitants of Algeria and Tunisia are kept without political power in the same way as, for instance, are the inhabitants of Kazakhstan and Kirghis. Differences are that the natives of the Russian colonial territories are not likely to get so far in making their native aspirations articulate, while the Russians who have been placed in these Republics by the central Government or the Party are not likely to be in a position to form pressure groups.

The majority of French politicians have apparently learned nothing from the tragedy of Indo-China, and in due time we shall have to see it repeated in North Africa.

Liberation of Germany

THE fall of Mendes-France puts the question of French ratification of the Paris agreements again in the melting-pot.

It would be ironical if the action of the French imperialist reactionaries were to have as a consequence the avoiding of the rearming of Germany.

The approaches now being made by East German groups in order to get discussions on the possibility of the reunification of Germany, make it evident that if rearmament is proceeded with in the absence of the Four-Power talks that were at one time advocated by Sir Winston Churchill a very heavy responsibility will fall upon the Western Powers.

We do not mean merely that the West will have been responsible for entering upon a new phase in competition in war preparation in Europe, but that they will have discarded a possible opportunity for bringing greater freedom to the people of East Germany, with the suppression of whose liberties they profess to be concerned.

Not only has the East German Premier, Herr Grotewohl, indicated a readiness for arrangements in unification that fall in with the Western conception of liberty, but there have been many approaches from East German trade unions and other organisations, doubtless fostered and encouraged by the East German Government, which also hold out hope that this matter is now being approached in a very conciliatory spirit.

Perhaps the most significant among these approaches is that from the East German Youth Movement. It has asked for talks with representatives

grant—but which in an emergency, he states frankly, he would use anyway—is to cover not only action against actual attack on Formosa and the Pescadores but "the securing and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required and appropriate in assuring the defence of Formosa and the Pescadores."

Formosa and China

For the United States thus to decide unilaterally that it must have a "friendly" government on Formosa and in the circumstances one hostile to the de facto government of the half a billion Chinese on the mainland, is much the same as it would be for Russia or China to insist that there must be a regime "friendly" to them and hostile to the United States on Cuba and other Caribbean islands.

Only a few months ago the US government did everything in its power to end a regime with Communist leanings in Guatemala; and that country is much further from our borders than Formosa from the Chinese mainland, nor was there in that case the slightest question about direct military intervention by Russia or China.

The best that can be and is said for the present moves is that they are meant to secure the evacuation of Nationalist troops from the Tachen and other islands near the mainland and to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to put off indefinitely any move to restore the Nationalist regime on the mainland—in other words any move to carry back to the mainland the civil war in which he was obviously and decisively defeated five years ago.

However much peace-minded people may abhor—and we do—many aspects of the

BEHIND THE NEWS

of the West German Youth Movement which would start from the assumption that, with a unified Germany, there would be a national movement that would limit the authority of the leaders of East German Youth in their own zone.

The East German Youth Movement has already been making efforts to secure greater freedom of expression and organisation, and has asked for the release of youth leaders who are imprisoned.

The Chairman of the West German Youth Movement has replied to the representatives of the East German Movement that the proposed discussions must be preceded by the release of the imprisoned leaders.

Such an approach, adopted on a wider scale would seem to offer possibilities in regard to the question of talks on a diplomatic level; and if the Western Powers turn their backs on the opportunity that is evidently being offered of securing greater freedom in organisation and action for the East German

Conscription encourages war

GENERAL Matthew Ridgway, US Army Chief of Staff, has said: "While military planning must be carried out in the light of political goals, policy determination should be carried out in the light of military capabilities." Combat Forces Journal, Sept., 1954. What this implies is that the larger the Army the tougher the United States may talk and act—and therefore, the danger of our involvement in actions leading to war.

Another American, Major Hoffman Nickerson in his "Arms and Policy" asserts, after surveying European conscription programmes: "There seems not to have been a single occasion when either universal service or universal training ever averted a threatened war."

—Conscription News, USA.

people they will have been guilty of a betrayal of the very principles they claim to have most at heart.

If the Western powers are really concerned with freedom they will enter upon Four-Power talks before freedom in both West and East Germany is further destroyed by the clamping of conscription on the youth of both areas.

The underworld of power

THE underworld of the power struggle, the world of the spy and the informer, is a foul domain, that has to make use of the most unpleasant human types, adding in the process to their degradation. In a totalitarian age, this underworld produces more of this degradation, and perhaps more hopelessly degraded human beings, than ever before in history.

Without assuming that the evidence of Whittaker Chambers in the Hiss trials was necessarily all true, it disclosed sufficient established facts about Communist methods in the field of espionage to demonstrate that in this area the normal conceptions of human morality and decency had no standing. This applies to espionage generally, of

course, whatever the power for which it is undertaken: if there is a difference in the field of Communist politics it is that it is able to use the better instincts of devoted people as a means to setting them on the road to their degradation and destruction as decent human beings.

Men and women go into the Communist Party, accept its standards and then in some cases revolt and reject Communism. The trouble is that too often they carry the same standards with them to be applied to other ends and become just as unpleasant figures as ex-Communists as they were as Communists.

The latest instance of this is Harvey M. Matusow, one-time Communist turned ex-Communist and employed by the US Government as a professional informer. He has now written a book called "False Witness", shortly to be published, in which he gives a detailed account of the lies he has told to the destruction of men against whom he has been used.

We will not refer here to the samples of his perjury that have already been given in the American Press. We will await publication of the book itself. This is likely to have very big consequences in regard to a whole series of prosecutions in which Matusow was a leading witness and would seem to call for his prosecution for perjury, and possibly also the prosecution of some important figures who connived at it.

Not every admitted perjurer has been prosecuted of course. Whittaker Chambers admitted previous perjury in giving evidence in the Hiss perjury trials; but what he was doing was helping the Government to bring Hiss down. What Matusow is doing can only be an embarrassment to the Government, but it would probably be an even greater embarrassment to put him on trial.

Totalitarianism with a difference

ON January 7 we commented on the difficulties encountered by a totalitarian oligarchy that sought to take steps from above to liberalise its regime. There was always the danger that a disposition by the people to give reality to their extended freedom would bring a panic retreat into renewed violence by the oligarchy. This manifested itself in East Germany when there was an attempt to produce a milder political climate after the death of Stalin.

The occasion for these comments was the putting on trial of Milovan Djilas and Vladimir Dedijer who had taken the first tentative steps in the formation of an opposition political party in Yugoslavia. Djilas, from whom we were able to publish a statement on January 14, had some very penetrating comments to make. He objected to Communism having become a "synonym for totalitarianism in this country as well as in Russia" and he condemned the Trotskyist, whose mistake he said was that they "wanted to become better Leninists than Stalin". The evil was in the assumptions made by Lenin that were shared by both the Stalinists and the Trotskyists.

We do not know what freedom of political action may be open to Djilas and Dedijer now, or whether a new attempt will be made at the democratisation of the Yugoslav regime when the occasion seems to be more propitious.

It must be noted with satisfaction, however, that the Yugoslav Government has contrived to act with much greater humanity than has any other totalitarian state, whether Communist or Fascist. It has convicted these two men, but has permitted them to go free, having condemned them to short periods of imprisonment that are only to take effect if they repeat their "offence."

moves on behalf of such figures as Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai and Chiang as attempts by the West to interfere in Asian affairs and maintain military domination, i.e., the abysmally discredited imperialist pattern.

Preventive War?

If the contemplated moves prove, as they may, sparks to start large-scale military action, the terms of the authorisation Congress is asked to give are so broad that the Administration will be tempted under goading by certain Congressional and Pentagon elements to attack bases on the Chinese mainland.

In other words, as Senator Wayne Morse pointed out, the way is opened for "preventive war."

If this produces large-scale resistance by the Chinese Communist regime, as it well may, the Administration will then be under severe temptation to use atomic weapons to offset Communist advantage in manpower. Whatever prestige and friendship the United States still retains among Asians will then disappear utterly.

The policy represented by the measures against which we are protesting can only lead from retreat to retreat, from disaster to disaster.

A Better Way

How much better to abandon this course now and begin to experiment with a strategy of reconciliation and non-violence such as is illustrated in the Fellowship of Reconciliation's current "Feed Your Enemy" campaign appealing to the President to offer our surplus food to the multitudes of children, women and men of China threatened with starvation as a result of the disastrous floods of a few months ago.

AMERICAN PACIFISTS AND THE FORMOSAN CRISIS

A. J. Muste sends the following statement on the Formosan crisis issued by the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. It deals with the pending mutual defence treaty between the US and Nationalist China and the resolution pledging support to the Eisenhower Administration's possible use of troops in Formosan waters and on the Chinese mainland, passed by overwhelming majorities in both Houses of Congress.

A. J. Muste comments: "It is not necessary to assume—and I do not—that these moves mean the final triumph of the Senator Knowland-Admiral Radford strategy that it is better to fight Communist China now rather than wait any longer, to conclude, as I do, that they are wrong and ill advised."

STRIPPED of technicalities and secondary elements these and related moves of the Eisenhower Administration mean simply this: the United States government has decided that for the foreseeable future Formosa and the Pescadores Islands and the adjacent Pacific areas are necessary for its military security.

It insists, therefore, that the "friendly" Chiang Kai-shek government shall be maintained and it will use whatever force may in its own judgment be needed to keep the Communist Chinese regime from taking possession of Formosa and the Pescadores.

Furthermore, strategically it is deemed foolish to permit an enemy to build up forces on the border of an area which the nation will go to war to defend.

Accordingly, the authority to use the armed forces which the President got Congress to

Chinese Communist regime, they can hardly support or condone the renewal of that civil war either in the near or in the distant future. The Mao Tse-tung regime cannot be expected to consider it a great favour for the United States government to "restrain" Chiang Kai-shek from making an attack on the mainland, which he could not even contemplate for a moment if he were certain no American aid would be available and when almost certainly but for that aid, he would long since have had to relinquish Formosa itself.

If some kind of temporary cease fire should now be attained, it would not alter the basic fact that the United States arrogated to itself the right to include Formosa and its present regime in its military sphere; and this is and is bound to remain a source of war, covert or open, in the Pacific.

The United Nations?

The United Nations is reportedly to be asked to call for a cease fire once the Congressional resolution is passed.

Once again, in other words, as in other post-war situations, a big power first makes its own decisions on all matters it regards as vital to its interests, and then turns to the United Nations!

If the situation develops in such a way that fighting in the area takes place under the guise of UN "police action" or "collective security," this will still be war and the outcome will be as tragic and inconclusive as the war in Korea.

The moves being made or contemplated by the Administration are in the old pattern of trying to contain and defeat Communism by military means.

The vast majority of Asians interpret these

IN PRAISE OF PN FUND SUBSCRIBERS



It is now something over three years that I have been at work on Peace News, and I should like to say a word that has frequently been on my mind to the good people who have always responded so adequately to these financial appeals that are the running accompaniment to the publication of the paper, and who have thus made its continued production possible.

Peace News readers are not slow to praise the paper when they feel that the work that is done on it calls for praise, but we also get, of course, our share of adverse criticism, some—but not all—of which we feel is deserved; and every now and again a reader tells us that he is so out of sympathy with the policy of the paper that he does not propose to take it any more. Two such cancellations are quoted on page seven.

I have found it, however, a very happy and healthy thing that there has literally never been an occasion that a donation—either small or large, from an individual or a group—has been associated with a suggestion that the policy of the paper should be modified in any way. That those who help us with donations are in general sympathy with the paper can, of course, be taken for granted. All who give, nevertheless clearly appreciate that to do a good and useful job the Editorial team and the Board of the paper must be left to deal with the truth as they see it, and that it would be detracting from the value of the paper if there were temptations to balance financial calculations against what they see as the truth.

The past three years that my daily work has been on behalf of the Pacifist Movement have taught me that although pacifists have faults, of course, like other people, in their personal and organisational relationships there are a number of things to be said in their favour. What I have had to say above is one of them.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Jan. 28: £15 15s. 8d.
Total since Jan. 1: £156 7s. 1d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SEVEN-YEAR-OLDS WITH STEN GUNS

Another Schoolboys' Exhibition protest

The following letter appeared in the Methodist Recorder on January 20.

RECENTLY I had the great pleasure of taking two boys to the Schoolboys' Exhibition, but feel that one aspect must surely have caused many parents deep concern. I refer to the War Office stand where little boys of six and seven upward were being shown how to handle a Sten gun, with the soldier in charge removing the bayonet, for further demonstration. Little boys who could scarcely hold the gun were imitating spraying the imaginary enemy and one adult commented that no one should be surprised if one went home and shot his parents. This is, of course, recognised as an exaggeration, but surely there is no reason whatever why such young boys should be introduced to, and encouraged to use, the modern weapons of killing.

We all deplore horror comics for the emphasis on violence and the possible effects on young minds, but here we are setting before them, in the atmosphere of a well recognised Exhibition, the acceptance by their adults of such weapons and their use as a normal and respectable human activity. Where so many creative activities were displayed to impressionable minds it is surely a pity that this particular exhibition should have been permitted.

There was, regrettably, no display whatsoever of a religious nature, but I am quite sure that the Churches could present the work of medical missionaries, etc., in a manner likely to excite the interest of many boys and I hope that something may be done in this way next year.

E. S. SPENCER.

FOOTNOTE: The Peace Pledge Union applied for a stand at the Exhibition in order to present some of the constructive alternatives to military service. Their application was turned down.

By Hugh Brock

their bit" by ignoring the law forbidding fraternisation with German prisoners-of-war.

They were active in forming a Bridlington International Club for the benefit of PoWs and displaced persons working in the district. A willing band of helpers ensured that the club was open four times a week.

At one time between 80 and 100 people were attending: Germans, Finns, Spaniards, Cypriots, Rumanians, Jamaicans, Hungarians, Austrians and Italians.

And then the members began to marry—many of them to local girls—and settle down. Two years ago the club disbanded.

"What about a re-union?" some of the members asked.

Mrs. Shipley and Mrs. Gray got together again and on New Year's Day they had a real good party. A family party, with 13 babies present.

There will be another party in March with a discussion of the possibility of a regular re-union.

A MacArthur 'quote' from a Swiss prison

Shortly before Christmas, Peace News published the names of men in many countries who were in prison for refusing military service. Readers were invited to send them greeting cards. The following is a letter of thanks which a Peace News reader received from a Swiss conscientious objector.

Dear Friends,

During my present prison period I had the great joy to receive messages of friendship, encouragement and sympathy from known and unknown friends of many countries and various walks of life. I was touched by these signs of brotherhood and feel the strength of your thoughts. Through the care of my wife I, I am sending to you my wholehearted thanks.

Two things moved me particularly.

Firstly: the feeling that our common ideals and aims mould us to a strong companionship and community. Nevertheless it depends ultimately very much on each of us, as individuals, and our practical witness in life, whether this community will prove to be only a temporary day-dream without constructive consequences or whether it will eventually result in the growing of a new world.

Secondly: Through our common ideals—we may put our lives under that great law emanating from the all pervading Spirit, which leads even beyond the questions of peace and war, active non-violence and violence, and which is the spring of all lasting joy.

"Germs of self-destruction"

Yesterday I read a quite unexpected statement. It is told that General Douglas MacArthur said at Gandhi's death (The life of Mahatma Gandhi by Louis Fischer, London 1951, page 23):

"In the evolution of civilization, if it is to survive, all men cannot fail eventually to adopt Gandhi's belief that the process of mass application of force to resolve contentious issues is fundamentally not only wrong but contains within itself the germs of self-destruction."

This seems to me a remarkable statement from this well-known warrior and an encouragement for all those who strive, however little—and in spite of their personal weaknesses—to engage themselves on the way which Mahatma Gandhi has shown us by his example.

Best wishes for a constructive and fruitful new year.

Very cordially yours,
RALPH HEGNAUER.

Australian hatred for Japan still strong

WHEN a Japanese War Dead commission left Tokyo recently to erect memorial stones for World War II soldiers who lost their lives in New Guinea and other Pacific areas, it carried instructions to change the original draft of the inscriptions. It was intended by the Japanese Foreign Office to have the English inscriptions read:

"In memory of those who fell in World War II, with ardent prayers and hopes for the eternal peace of the world."

Australians in high places objected to this wording, however, and the English inscriptions will now say: "This stone marks the place from which Japanese war dead were removed by the Japanese Government in 1955." The inscriptions in Japanese will not be changed, and will read: "In memory of Japanese war dead, built by the Japanese Government in the thirtieth year of Showa" (1955).

When queried about the reasons for the change and asked who had forced it to be made, W. S. K. Hughes, Australian Minister of the Interior, was reported by the Sydney Morning Herald to have indicated no knowledge of who had made the complaints. He said that there was a big cemetery at Yokohama containing Australian war dead, in care of the Japanese as a sacred trust, and he hoped Australians would reciprocate.

The Worldover Press correspondent in Australia reports, nevertheless, that "Australian hatred of Japanese will take a long time to eradicate, as this incident shows. No Australian government would dare fly in the face of public opinion, which is still inflamed at the memory of wartime cruelties."

Support Germans in their "No Army" struggle —ILP

THIS meeting sends its congratulations to the German working class on their magnificent fight against the rearmament of their country," says a resolution carried unanimously at a meeting of the Independent Labour Party National Administrative Council on January 23.

"We call upon the British workers to demonstrate their solidarity with their German brothers in this vital struggle.

"We oppose the spineless attitude of the official Trade Union and Labour Movement of this country and their failure to recognise in militarism a threat to working class rights and freedom."

The recent Russian offer of free elections internationally supervised shows, say the ILP, an immediate means of avoiding the tragedy of German rearmament with its possible consequences of fascism, civil war, and world war.

A LEADER IN THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS, PEACE, RACIAL UNITY AND COLONIAL FREEDOM

Britain urged to commemorate Olive Schreiner centenary

MARCH 24 marks the centenary of the birth of South Africa's greatest pioneer woman, Olive Schreiner. Besides being a famous writer, Olive Schreiner became known as a fighter for the complete emancipation of women, and as a strong supporter for the struggles against war, racial discrimination and colonialism.

E. S. Sachs (Solly Sachs, formerly General Secretary of the Garment Workers Union, South Africa and now at 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.) having collected much valuable material for a book which he is writing about her, will be pleased to put it at the disposal of organisations and interested persons, and makes these suggestions for the marking of the centenary.

1. Friends of freedom, of peace, and of the colonial people should make the occasion widely known.
2. Organisations and individuals who uphold the principles for which she worked should co-operate to establish local, national and international "Olive Schreiner Centenary Memorial Committees."
3. Memorial lectures should be organised on March 24 in as many centres as possible.

Translate her books

4. A fund should be raised in Britain, the USA, South Africa and other countries for the following purposes:—
 - (a) erecting suitable monuments at least in the land of her birth, South Africa, and in Britain;
 - (b) establishing an Olive Schreiner Memorial Fund to provide scholarships for students from Africa and Asia;
 - (c) republish all her works, which are now out of print;
 - (d) facilitate the publication of her unpublished letters, pamphlets, etc.;
 - (e) arrange for some of her books to be translated into African, Asian and other languages;
 - (f) plaques to be put up in places where she lived.

White man's paradise —Black man's hell

"GOD'S OWN COUNTRY"—South Africa—has a Devil, but it isn't the Black Man, as can be seen from the collection of photographs now on show in the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Field. This collection, taken by Bryan Heseltine, a young Cape Town photographer, portrays "A People Apart"—Africans living—if one can call it living—under the most evil of social conditions.

Pictures of the interiors of Africans' houses—four walls of corrugated iron patched up with pieces of cardboard, without windows and only gaps for doors—show the comfort and luxury afforded the average African after his day's work—an orange-box chair before a petrol-can fire. Water doesn't come in pipes, but through the floor as seepage after a rainfall.

The exhibition, opened by the Bishop of Johannesburg last Tuesday, has been arranged by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to raise money for the Emergency Fund it has opened to help the South African Churches.

They urged common citizenship in British Africa

UNLESS Britain asserted the clear principle of equal right for all men and women, regardless of their race or colour, she was in no position to oppose the racist policy of the Union of South Africa, a meeting at Grantham (Lincs) was told by a West African last week.

The speaker was Dr. Olumbe Bassir, clinical biochemist and contributor to Peace News.

The meeting, organised by the local group of the Crusade for World Government and held in the Picture House Cafe, passed a resolution urging the Government to establish in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Central Africa a type of political and social integration based on the common citizenship of Europeans and Africans.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

TAX REFUSERS UNITE!

EACH year the Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers in the United States releases to the Press a joint statement signed by pacifists who are refusing to pay taxes for war. Some of the tax refusers refuse to pay all their federal income tax while others refuse to pay that percentage which would be used for war.

This year the statement will be issued on April 15, the new deadline for payment of taxes. All those not on the Tax Refusal Committee mailing list who intend to refuse payment of war taxes are asked to notify Walter Gormly, 412 N. Third Street, W., Mt. Vernon, Iowa, USA.

Signers of the statement are not restricted to residents of the United States. Tax refusal will be given an international character if tax refusers in other countries join with the American group in making a public declaration.

MODEL LETTER

CONGRATULATIONS to Ivy Wheatley of Ilford, Essex, on using the report of Christopher Farley's case

LONDON QUAKERS' POSTER CAMPAIGN

NOTICE

TO YOUNG MEN OF 17-18 LIABLE TO REGISTER SHORTLY FOR MILITARY SERVICE

Under the National Service Act, you are given the right to register as a Conscientious Objector and to claim exemption, if it would be against your conscience either to do combatant duties or to enter the Forces at all. If you wish to have detailed information on procedure at registration and subsequently, you are invited to write for free literature regarding this, without putting yourself under any obligation to:

THE SECRETARY
NORTHERN FRIENDS' PEACE BOARD, FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, CLIFFORD STREET, YORK.
OR
FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE, FRIENDS' HOUSE, ELSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.4.

QUAKERS' & OTHERS' LTD., PRINTERS, (10-11) 11-12, MARK LANE, LONDON

Quaker Meetings and Peace Committees in London have been asked to arrange for the display of these posters on Underground Railway Stations. They are already up on Trafalgar Sq., Manor House, Finchley Central and Ealing Stations. Cost is approx. 3s. 6d. a week. Other peace groups wishing to undertake this work may obtain full details from Aubrey Brocklehurst, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

BRIEFLY . . .

Since UNESCO came into being in 1945 the UK have contributed £2,606,962, up to and including 1953-4. This sum includes, in the Organisation's Working Capital Fund, a repayable deposit, which, at the current rate of exchange, is valued at £118,286. For 1954 the UK's contribution payable was £373,051. The estimate for 1955, given to the House, by Mr. Vosper, Minister of Education, is about £237,000.

The Harvard Crimson, daily paper of Harvard University, gave a front-page report of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's "Send surplus food to China" campaign. Another issue of the paper carried a picture showing a member of the university For group collecting signatures to a petition urging President Eisenhower to ship surplus food to "the needy, particularly in Communist China," where millions have been made homeless by floods.

New secretary of the Labour Peace Fellowship is Terence Comerford, 46 Robin Hood Way, Greenford, Middx. (Wembley 2380). The retiring secretary, Denis Brian, will continue to serve on various LPF Committees. The Annual General Meeting of the Fellowship will be held on Sunday, April 3, at the Friends International Centre, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.

to such good effect. She wrote in a letter to the editor of the News Chronicle, published on Feb. 1:

Our clerics are fond of saying that much of juvenile crime can be put down to lack of religion in the lives of our young.

This month a young Quaker said in Marylebone Court: "I am a Christian and I cannot therefore submit to military conscription."

So we sent him to prison for six months. Three short paragraphs, all to the point. A model for those who wish to see their views expressed in the popular dailies.

"TREND TO NEHRU"

A CORRESPONDENT in British Columbia, Canada, writes: "Things are going our way these days. The trend is to Nehru all right. No war fever editorials now. Even letters are appearing in the papers against war and German rearmament."

TEN YEARS LATER

LIKE many other pacifists in wartime Britain, Mrs. E. M. Shipley and Mrs. M. E. Gray of Bridlington "did

A CHAIN OF OPEN DOORS FROM BRITAIN TO JAPAN

"Peacebuilders", or "Servas" as the movement is known on the continent, offer a chain of "Open doors" in many countries where travellers can obtain two nights hospitality.

During 1954 nearly 40 travellers used the system in Britain: Germans, Americans, Danes, Indians, Austrians, Yugoslavs, Italians, Dutch, Canadians and West Indians. From Britain, 26 travellers went overseas, one to use the "Open doors" in Japan, others in India and Israel.



London hosts Herbert and Doris Wheeler (left) are shown here with "Open door visitors" Peter Macanovic (seated) from Zagreb University, Yugoslavia. Discussing his tour of Europe, with Peace Builders' European Secretary Esma Burrough (right) is Mr. Sinha, from India.

Address of the British Working Committee is 37 Wellington Road, Birmingham, 20. In America the office of the World Committee is at Woolmandale, Star Route, Limeport, Pa.

Walking and cycling through Europe

NOW entering its twenty-fifth year as a holiday organisation, International Tramping Tours, of 6 Bainbridge Road, Leeds, 6, has always combined the wider aim of peace through international understanding with a well-organised and novel programme.

Through the years a host of friendly contacts have been built up in the countries of Europe, and the ITT badge is known from Algeria in the south to Norway in the north.

The organisation has walking tours and centre holidays. Except for some of the routes in the high mountains, which require experience of hills, no rock climbing is attempted. The walking tours can be done by anyone who is reasonably fit.

At the centres of Ljubljana (Yugoslavia), Sogne (Norway), and Viareggio (Italy), social contacts and talks on local life and culture are interspersed with excursions into the surrounding area.

A new field this year is a two-centre holiday in the lovely Salzammergut, the Austrian Lake District, with one week on the Mondsee, not far from Salzburg, and a second week at Hallstadt, near the Dachstein, among the higher mountains. There is also a new tour through Yugoslavia into Greece, with visits to Ljubljana, Zagreb, Athens and Delphi. Leisurely cycle tours in Holland and Denmark have also been put back into the programme for the first time since 1939. Two tours are planned for Algeria this year.

According to the type of holiday, ITT accommodation is in hotels, inns, University hostels, mountain huts and youth hostels.

HOLIDAYS—WITH C AS THE KEY—

... and this is how Ma



(All together) "Really quite when

For New Englanders

IN the lovely and peaceful Connecticut countryside, New Englanders will be able to spend seven days—from June 12 to 19—attending the Third Annual Avon Institute, at Avon Old Farm, Avon.

Small round-table groups, led by Quakers qualified in group leadership, will discuss the "Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs," taking into account such matters as personal pacifism, ethical conflict, and political action. Quaker leaders will include: Cecil Hinshaw, who has recently returned from a round-the-world trip; Hallam Tennyson, British Quaker who has worked in India; Norman Whitney, Professor at Syracuse University; Milton Mayer, author and lecturer; Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

The programme is designed to provide an unhurried relaxed pace, food will be excellent, and there will be plenty of recreation.

Full details: Russell Johnson, Peace Section, American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

HOLIDAYS ABROAD FOR TEEN-AGERS

AN unusual holiday for those who are adventurous and self-reliant, not content with "conducted tours," but wanting to experience life abroad for themselves, is provided by the Educational Interchange Council. This voluntary organisation is sending eighty young people from secondary schools throughout Britain to stay for a month with individual families in Yugoslavia.

They share the life of their host family to the full; they eat the same food, which can taste very strange but usually results in British visitors putting on several pounds in weight; they go to swim in the local river, so as to cool down in the heat of the day; they make excursions to local places of interest with their hosts, who understand and speak some English because they have been learning it for several years at their Yugoslav grammar school; they get to know the circle of friends of their hosts, and take part in the "Corso" in the evening, when everyone in the town walks up and down the main street in their smartest clothes for half an hour to enjoy the coolness of the evening and exchange gossip with their friends (and to see who is walking with whom, and what they are wearing!); and they go to the local open-air cinema or dance in the cheerful cafes.

CHEAP TRAVEL

They travel out as a group, so as to make the journey as cheap as possible and easier for those who have no previous experience of foreign travel. They stay in towns in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, several of them in each

town so that they can always meet up if they start to feel at all home-sick.

Yugoslavia has, of course, a particular fascination. The regime is a Communist one, with a one-party system, and by living there one can decide for oneself how well it works and how much it affects the everyday life of the average family. The country is in the middle of a hard struggle against great poverty. It lies geographically between East and West, containing a remarkable mixture of nationalities—Slav, Hungarian, Italian, Albanian, Rumanian—and a variety of beliefs, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Moslem and Communist. The people themselves show a friendliness and hospitality to guests from Britain which has to be experienced to be believed.

This year's visit will take place from July 27-August 26 and cost £24 15s.

FOR YOUNG WORKERS

Another type of visit will interest people already at work but not more than 21 years old, and who can obtain permission from their employers to be absent for eleven days outside the normal holiday period (either obtaining special leave of absence, or taking part of their normal annual leave). A responsible German organisation possessing a fine Conference Centre in the Harz Mountains, one of the most beautiful parts of Germany, invites ten participants from Britain to the series of International Youth Conferences it holds between January and June each year. Forty young Germans, including some from Berlin,

take part each time together with forty from other countries such as Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and Britain, and the purpose is to offer the maximum opportunity for people from each country to get to know each other and exchange views on current problems. There are a limited number of lectures and discussions (always frank and outspoken) but generous time is left for out-of-door and social activities, which are often hilarious. A large number of the other participants can speak English so that it is not essential for the British to be able to speak a foreign language.

FROM FACTORIES, MINES AND OFFICES

Efforts are made to send groups from Britain which are as well balanced as possible, including people working with private industry, the big shops, the mines and other nationalized concerns, local authorities and Government departments.

The next Conferences take place from March 2-13 and March 20-April 1, and the cost is only £14 10s. because the German organisation invites the British to stay free of charge. There are still some places free on both these Conferences, and may be at others later in the year. Anyone interested in this or the Yugoslav scheme is advised to write for particulars as soon as possible, to the Educational Interchange Council, 43 Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.

Over the Alps—in "The Ark"

By RICHARD K. BROWN

SOME four years ago a group of Young Friends in Yorkshire bought an Austin army field ambulance, which has since been used by a variety of groups for holidays in this country and on the continent.

Fitted with bus seats to seat a maximum of sixteen and with a canvas roof which can be rolled back, it provides a novel and eminently suitable means of transport, with an excellent view of the surrounding countryside so long as the weather remains fine.

Last September, a group of sixteen Young Friends, mostly from Oxford and Cambridge, introduced "the Ark", as this vehicle is called, to yet another European country with a trip to Italy.

We travelled south through Belgium, France and Switzerland, carrying complete camping equipment and camping and Youth Hostelling on the way.

Sunshine greeted our arrival south of the Alps, the Ark taking the St. Gotthard Pass with little trouble, and we had glorious weather throughout our stay. We intended going as far south as Rome, and passed along the shores of Lake Maggiore, through Milan and Genoa, along the beautiful Italian Riviera coast and through Pisa on our way there.

In Rome we spent three days, camping on a very centrally placed site which we shared with people of several nationalities. The city proved full of interest and well worth the extra effort in coming so far south, though our three days proved far too short and we found sightseeing in such a climate very tiring.

Siena, our next stop, which we reached after a delightful day's driving through the Apennines, and San Gimignano, with their "medieval" atmosphere were a very pleasant contrast. Florence was less immediately impressive though the Uffizi Gallery fully justified its reputation.

On our way to Venice we stopped to see the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua where the wonderful frescoes by Giotto made an interesting comparison with those by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. Venice was fascinating and we were lucky enough to see

● The writer is a member of Young Friends, the Quaker youth body which was in the news last year when it invited six young Russians for a stay in Britain.

● Cambridge Young Friends, to which Richard Brown is attached, are hoping to hold three or four camps this summer for children from the East End of London. They would be glad to hear of a site within 25 miles of London which would offer sufficient room for games, drinking water, wood for a camp-fire, and use of a nearby building for keeping personal possessions. Suggestions should be sent to Richard Brown at New Court, St. John's College, Cambridge.

the Grand Canal floodlit on our first evening there.

All too soon we were leaving Italy after a wonderful day in the Dolomites, and the journey home was through Austria and Germany, stopping for a day at Landeck.

Though we had all too little time for contact with the people whose countries we visited, the Ark was popular almost everywhere and we were soon waving to all whom we passed.

Camp sites were rarely difficult to find and on several occasions local inhabitants went out of their way to help us when for example we got lost in towns as not infrequently happened.

Besides seeing so many famous and wonderful works of art, which was the primary purpose of our visit, the constant interest of travelling and living in countries different from our own, and the excellent company of our own party combined to make the four weeks a very enjoyable and worthwhile holiday.

NO ENGLISH COOKING

KEY to Europe is offered to participants in the International Friendship League holiday scheme, "but," says the brochure (obtainable from 3 Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.7) "it remains for you to unlock the gate."

This is the International Friendship League method of promoting understanding and goodwill among nations: no English cooking promised, travel staterage to some parts, live under canvas, and really get to know the local people.

Lovely Dorset Coast

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Birchington-on-Sea, Kent—Vegetarian Food Reform and Vegan Guest House. No smoking. H. and C. all rooms. Near buses and sea. Terms 5 to 7 guineas. Apply Miss Barnes, St. Albans, 20 Albion Rd. Tel. Thanet 41954.

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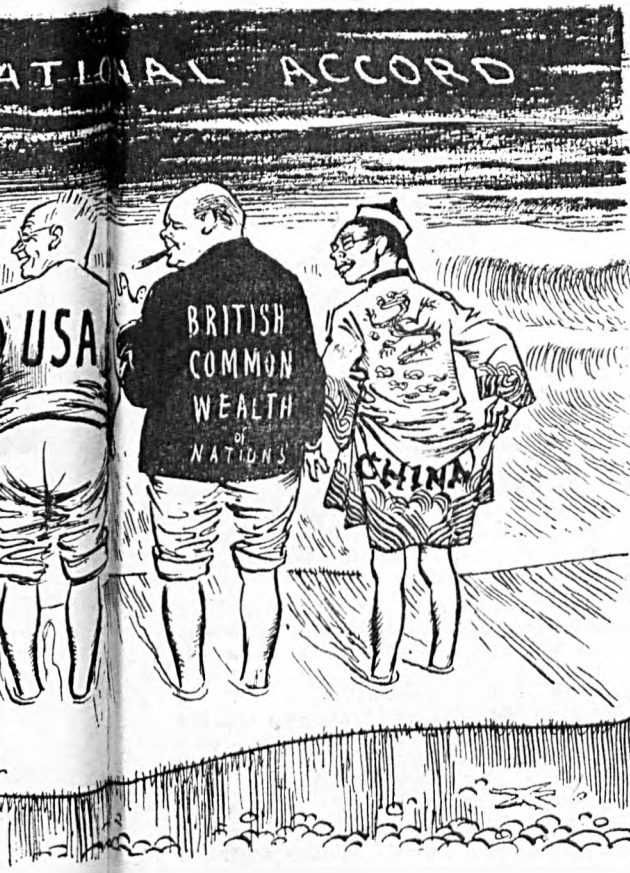
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WITH GOODWILL
THE KEY-NOTE

is is he Mays sees it



quite when you get used to it

INVITATION TO
NORWAY

By C. GERARD WAKEMAN

It was during my nine years at Quaker schools, that I was introduced to Youth Hostelling, and for those who know little about it, I will only say that I believe the movement to be among the most valuable forces for peace.

Two years in Friends Ambulance Unit international Service introduced me to foreign parts, and as I was lucky enough to follow this with four years at a University, I had the holiday time to Hostel in many parts of Europe, including nearly three months in Norway.

During this time I stayed at about thirty hostels in various regions of Norway, and my purpose in this article will be to help and encourage others to do likewise.

Perhaps one of the chief discouragements for many people to visiting Norway, is the difficulty of hitch-hiking across the North Sea, for unless you are particularly enterprising and work your passage, or go "overland" through the Continent, an initial outlay of about £14 for the return fare is necessary.

Living in Norway is, however, fairly cheap, and providing you are fond of the sea and the mountains, then a visit is infinitely worthwhile.

As in every country, Youth Hostels in Norway vary, but although we met some extremely good ones we did not meet any bad ones. Many of them are open only in the summer, being situated in schools, when the Warden is often also headmaster or headmistress, and as such, probably the most interesting person to meet in the neighbourhood.

Some Hostels are in private homes, and others, notably those in the skiing areas, were built specially as Hostels.

WORLD'S BEST YOUTH HOSTEL

One of these, Mjølffjell, near the Bergen-Oslo railway, which was completed soon after the war by work campers from many countries, claims, and probably rightly so, to be the finest Youth Hostel in the world—but try to visit it out of season!

Many do not provide meals, so be prepared to cook for yourself. In a few of the Hostels, wardens do not speak English, so it is advisable to take a pocket dictionary—do not depend on being understood if you shout English extra loudly!

As far as the mode of travel is concerned, I do not recommend cycling, though some people have found it satisfactory I know. Roads are not normally metalled, and you will not find much level ground, so if you decide to cycle do not try too much. Walking is ideal for Norway and in the south many of the hostels are close enough to be within walking distance.

You will need to use ferries and boats, but avoid buses as far as possible, as they tend to be expensive.

Hitch-hiking is not too easy, in spite of the fact that Norwegians are generous with their lifts, because on many roads traffic is practically non-existent. If you wish to cover long distances I would advise a tent—if you can carry it, and see as much as you can of Norway.

When planning such a holiday further information can be obtained from the Norwegian State Railways, 21-24 Cockspur St., S.W.1, and the YHA International Bureau, 21 Bedford St., Strand.

A working
holiday?

FOR your holiday this year, why not become a work-camper?

Here is an opportunity to meet interesting people, to visit different parts, and to acquire new skills. Moreover, there is the satisfaction of doing a worthwhile job and at the same time making your own individual contribution to peace-building.

In the years since the War increasing numbers of young people have been attracted towards work-camp organisations as a means of helping to alleviate human distress while enjoying new and stimulating experiences.

One such organisation is Le Service Civil International, known in Britain as the International Voluntary Service for Peace. It was born amid the desolation and hopelessness left by the first World War as a positive bid to affirm the human values of which wars are an utter negation.

At the instigation of its founder, the Swiss pacifist Pierre Ceresole, the first service took the form of reconstruction in a devastated village of Northern France by a team largely composed of former German soldiers. This courageous and imaginative scheme was the first of many such ventures in the same tradition.

More recent services operated by SCI and its branches have included flood-relief work in Holland, bridge-building in Calabria, and earthquake relief in Greece and Algeria, while two services are currently running in villages in India and Pakistan.

Each year such services attract hundreds of young men and women from every walk of life, representing a wide variety of nationalities, occupations, interests and beliefs.

The source of the appeal varies too; some are drawn by the opportunity for adventure, some by the chance to express in a very practical way their fundamental belief in internationalism, some by the prospect of

The writer, a young Australian, has been working in Europe with Service Civil International and International Voluntary Service for Peace projects.

community life and the opportunities for shared tasks, pleasures and discussion.

Perhaps you have neither the time nor the funds to go to camps in foreign countries, but you may be interested in those which IVSP organises every summer in the British Isles.

Food and lodging are provided, but travel to the camp is the responsibility of the volunteer—he may go by train, bus or by "thumb," according to his own taste.

Work varies according to the needs of the project; it may be the traditional pick-and-shovel work, or indoor redecorating, tree-felling, cooking or building.

A full day's work is expected of each volunteer, and his leisure time can be spent either in activities arranged within the camp or individually as he chooses. Within a week he will probably have discovered all kinds of latent talents and have indulged in many unexpected pastimes.

Those of us who were volunteers in British camps this past summer could number among our new experiences cleaning and distemper-painting slum-dwellings, swimming in the Solent, lessons in Esperanto, square-dancing, paper-hanging, exploring the English countryside—as well as the customary singing and discussions.

To make this new and exciting way of life possible certain qualities are expected of each volunteer. First is the spirit of friendship and goodwill which is essential to such a communal way of life. But above all are demanded attitudes of tolerance and interest towards the beliefs and opinions of others—the kind of tolerance which made it possible, as we saw last summer, for an Israeli and an Arab, and for volunteers from Communist Yugoslavia and Fascist Spain to live amicably together and, moreover, to take delight in one another's company. As always, differences were set aside and prejudices dispelled in absorption in a common task.

The implications of such fellowship and goodwill are tremendous when transferred from the smaller world of the work-camp to the wider sphere of international affairs. Obviously, the benefit of any work-camp is not only to the distressed folk for whom you have actually worked, but also to yourself and to the community to which you return with new interests, wider sympathies, and a broader and more tolerant outlook.

If this is the kind of challenge which appeals to you, you should write to the General Secretary, International Voluntary Service for Peace, 19 Pembroke Villas, London, W.11.

To build a Community
Centre

WORK CAMPS planned by the Friends Work Camps Committee in Britain for 1955 are as follows:

Easter. April 2-18. Southmead, Bristol. Erection of Community Centre. 19-year-olds and over.

Summer. July 2-August 1, August 6-September 5. 19-year-olds and over. July 30-August 22. August 6-29. 16-18-year-olds. A two-week camp is planned from July 30-August 13 and will probably cater for the 16-18 age group.

Further details of all these camps can be obtained from Friends Work Camps Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MORE ABOUT
HOLIDAYS AND CONFERENCES
ON PAGE EIGHT

IT'S ONE YEAR OLD . . .
The Holiday Bureau

LAUNCHED only last year, the Peace News Holiday Bureau has been welcomed by all who have used it to fill their holiday needs.

A jolly family holiday, adventure in other lands, a work camp, a caravan, tramping tour or conference holiday—there are friendly, peace-movement people who can help with your holiday plans.

A wide variety of services are offered on this page by people who support Peace News. The Peace News Holiday Bureau can supply brochures from most of the advertisers and will do its best to furnish any other information. Please enclose a stamped addressed envelope.

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Other classified advertisements — page seven

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TRENDS

DAVID RIESMAN (The Lonely Crowd) has given us a good conceptual tool for understanding the social character that is evolving among us. He delineates three types:

1. *Tradition-directed*: a vanishing type in which actions of the individual follow set traditions, ceremonies and rites.
2. *Inner-directed*: a child is given principles and basic ideas to live by; these are inviolable to him and he meets new experiences in terms of previous principles.
3. *Other-directed*: this person has values only in interaction with others; the group is his source of morality and his clue to expected action: he is sensitive to the mass media of communication; he leaves his family early and has many friends in a wide but shallow social environment.

The other-directed social character is rapidly becoming dominant in America, particularly in our big cities, where the coercive social organisation finds an easy acceptance by millions of other-directed people.

—FELLOWSHIP (USA), November, 1954.

I reminded myself that the economic phase of politics had a beginning not so very long ago, and that now we may be within sight of the end of it. Already it is the turn of the psychologist or social philosopher to utter the grave warnings. Soon it may be his turn to shape the policy of a new kind of party—that is, if everybody capable of joining it is not crushed out of existence between the Boss-men, of all colours, and the Massmen—a party that asks where we are going, and why, and is against sleep-walking and the routine acceptance of more-and-more-of-what-we-already-dislike. The quarrel then might not be about the ownership and control of the factory but about its very existence.

—J. B. PRIESTLY, New Statesman, January 22, 1955.

I AM suggesting the establishment of a World Order of Socialists... whose members would then attempt to draw up an agreed policy in very broad terms and, with this as a basis, would seek to promote national groups in their own countries. In such a programme, peace and international friendship, and therewith international "war on want," and a wide toleration of varying democratic "ways of life," would obviously have to take the leading place.

For the rest, the crusaders themselves would need to define it, keeping it broad and simple and rejecting every attempt to impose a rigid dogmatism, either of ideology or of positive prescription of method.

—G. D. H. COLE, New Statesman, January 22, 1955.

In Britain, the H-bomb must make pacifists of us all, because we of all people cannot defend anything with it.

—STEPHEN SWINGLER, Tribune, January 29, 1955.

Teaching children violence

by ROBERT GREACEN

FOR several years now the campaign against "horror" comics has been steadily gaining momentum. Parents, teachers, clergymen and others have long been concerned with the reading matter of British children.

It is estimated that over 350 million of these wrongly-named "comics" are sold annually in this country and that each copy has an average of eight readers.

Although the majority of these are harmless enough, an increasing number, printed from matrices imported from the United States by get-rich-quick publishers, are deliberately sadistic. These "comics" glorify violence in every shape and form; and they stimulate race and other prejudices. Something is obviously wrong when the Archbishop of Canterbury went so far as to lead a recent deputation to the Home Secretary.

The "Comics" Campaign Council has just published a most interesting twenty-four page

pamphlet on the subject: "COMICS" AND YOUR CHILDREN by George H. Pumphrey, headmaster of a Primary School in Dover. (This booklet, which is unpriced, may be obtained on application to the Secretary of the Council, Dr. Simon Yudkin, 23 Tillingbourne Gardens, London, N.3.)

This "Comics" Council, established in 1953 by the National Committee for the Defence of Children and the London Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations aims

- (a) to make known the dangers of the worse comics;
- (b) to discourage the sales of these comics; and
- (c) to encourage the production of more attractive and desirable kinds of literature for children.

It is worth noting that exhibition material, film strips and speakers are available for individuals and organisations interested.

The six pages of reproductions of American "comic" material in this booklet testify to the horrible nature both of drawings and captions. To quote:

These (i.e. drawings) include a close-up of a man being hanged; two living men being dragged face downward behind a car; a girl about to have her eyes pierced with a needle; a man's face being stamped on by a nailed shoe; a girl's blood being drained out of her veins so that she will not be able to give information, and a diagram showing details of the vulnerable parts of the human body, with instructions how to attack them.

Mr. Pumphrey quotes from the findings of Dr. Wertham, Director of the Lafargue Clinic in New York, whose detailed study, SEDUCTION OF THE INNOCENT, will shortly be published in London. This is what Dr. Wertham has to say about the effect of "comics" on children:

... a blunting of the finer feelings of conscience, of mercy, of sympathy for other people's suffering and of respect for women as women and not merely as sex objects to be banded around or as luxury prizes to be fought over. Crime comics are such highly flavoured fare that they affect children's tastes for the finer influences of education, for art for literature and for decent and constructive relationships between human beings, especially between the sexes.

It was stated in the Commons in 1952 that the Public Prosecutor, who had been sent a number of these "Comics," had ruled that they were not "obscene" within the meaning of the Act and that in his opinion no successful prosecution could take place.

* On page seven

THEY ONCE FED A MILLION CHILDREN A DAY

The Widow's Mite—in 1954 it was given for peace

Last week Peace News reported that staff member Tom Wardle was leaving England for a three months lecture tour in the USA, organised for him by the American Friends Service Committee.

Of peace-workers who have undertaken similar tours recently, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge

Union, Reginald Sorensen, MP, Chairman of the National Peace Council, Fenner Brockway, MP, Wilfred Wellock and Andre and Magda Trocme, leading French pacifists, are but a few.

Just how wide the activities of this American Quaker organisation are spread is indicated by the following report.

"OUR pockets are empty but we want the Service Committee to have this fifty-cent piece," wrote a couple who contributed to the American Friends Service Committee's funds in 1954. This gesture, comparable to the Widow's Mite, helped to enable the AFSC to spend over six million dollars on relief, food and clothing, and peace education.

Half a million dollars were donated by an American foundation, and donations had been received from the Society of Friends (Quakers) 118,000 US members, as well as from many non-Friends.

These facts were revealed when Lewis M. Hoskins, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee presented his annual report in Philadelphia last month.

In 1955, largely because a new law makes more surplus food available, its total budget is expected to increase by \$335,000—a rise in shipments will offset a slight drop in cash spending.

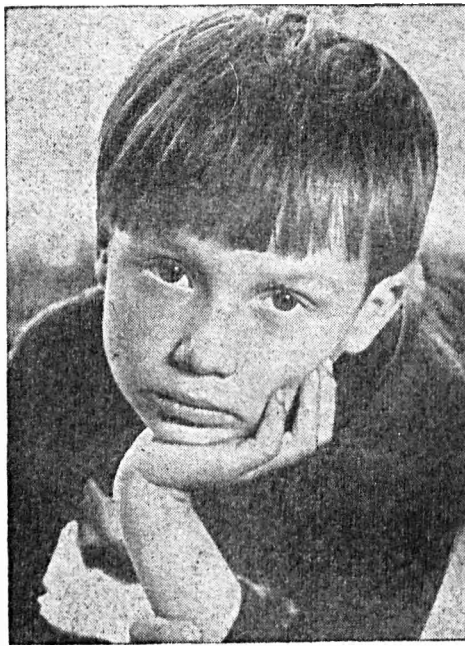
Measured in terms of dollars, AFSC activities have risen to a peak after each of the world wars—in 1921-22, when it fed over a million children a day in Germany—and again in 1946-47.

The AFSC aim to use food and clothing to help local means of production and distribution to operate again. Amongst its 1954 achievements, AFSC handed over to the Korean city of Kusan 17 milk stations which AFSC had organised. It also ended financial aid to a community centre in Italy, withdrew from a student centre in Munich, and, in America, work with the Indians in Rapid City, S. Dakota had been turned over to civic groups to continue.

World War II refugees

In Germany, the Committee has been helping the last 300,000 refugees of the 10½ million which fled to that country after World War II, to find homes and jobs. This year the budget for this programme will be cut in half. And though it is planned to ship 675 tons of clothing overseas, this represents a drop of 128 tons from last year.

In 1954, AFSC operated programmes in most of the 48 states of America, as well as in 15 countries overseas. Citizens of no less than 90 countries participated in one or more of these programmes.



Fed and clothed by AFSC

Some AFSC members went to help the "have-nots," the agricultural peoples whose ancient cultures no longer provide an adequate living in today's industrialized world.

In India, village workers demonstrated ways to increase crops and improve health.

In Mexico, high school and college students under Mexican direction worked with pick and shovel, laying water pipes.

On US Indian reservations, AFSC personnel did everything, from providing technical advice for a reservation newsletter to finding a supply of glasses for those who needed them!

Educating for peace

The biggest share of the Committee funds, however, went to an effort to prevent war by educating for peace.

Most of these funds were spent in America itself, in helping leaders in American churches, farm groups, and labour unions to become peace educators.

Work was done amongst diplomats at UN, government officials at Washington as well as with housewives and business men in their own homes.

Abroad, students of 48 nations met under AFSC auspices for seminars in world affairs.

Friendly beggars

But, above all AFSC worked with youth. Children as young as four years of age—Friendly Beggars—learned how to share with youngsters overseas by collecting relief supplies and handing over "treats." Pupils in 112 American Schools linked hands with those in partner schools in 7 foreign countries. Teenagers talked to congressmen in Washington, and at the weekends joined conferences and discussions.

Youngsters paying their own way during the summer months joined work camps, helping DP's, migrants, and avalanche victims. Over 100 college and other youths sampled factory life, whilst 96 volunteers from 68 colleges gave help in mental hospitals and reformatories.

Work with the Negroes

This year, AFSC hopes to succeed in efforts to find sites in the Chicago area for two private projects open to both whites and Negroes.

Landlords' refusals to rent to Negroes have resulted in three times as many Negroes as whites living in dilapidated homes, and four times as many living in overcrowded quarters.

Last year the AFSC began its fourth programme in the field, at Santa Clara, California.

The problem is essentially one of brotherhood. Colour bar housing will not solve the problem; the only solution is one which allows Negroes and Whites to become good neighbours.

THE CASE FOR CIVIL WAR

The Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, by Vernon Richards. Freedom Press, 6s.

IF any cause could justify war it was the Spanish Revolution, but its lessons are that no cause can. Here we part company with the author. But this is an important book, and we cannot answer its challenge with the same complacency and consummate ease with which we answer the more futile arguments against us.

This is certainly a book to make us think. Those who do not remember the events of the Spanish civil war should find time to peruse its pages.

GEORGE PLUME.

New books

MILITARISM

Soviet Imperialism, by G. A. Tokaev. Duckworth, 6s.

ENGINEER Colonel Tokaev left the Soviet sector of Berlin and crossed to the West in 1948 having, according to the editors of this book, occupied since 1940 a series of increasingly important posts in Soviet aircraft production.

His book deals with general strategy, military and political; the background of the Soviet army, navy and air forces, the aims of Soviet military training; welfare and morale of troops and with the strength and weakness of Soviet forces in action. However, it differs, perhaps, from the usual works of disillusioned Communists, former Communist fellow-travellers and Soviet citizens who have "chosen freedom" in that its main message is one which most supporters of Soviet policy would appear to agree with: that Russia has a large army with well-trained officers and equipped with the most modern weapons of war including atom and hydrogen bombs.

Of course, there will be few readers of Colonel Tokaev's book who are in a position to judge the accuracy of the facts and statistics given by the author but many will find it rather disappointing that having made our flesh creep with his account of the "Red peril" he would apparently have us believe that the only answer is for the West to continue its own rearmament.

In the meantime, however, it has been announced that the countries of the Soviet bloc are answering the "defensive" measures of Western Union by increasing their own armaments. This presumably is to be answered by further arms increases on the part of the Western bloc until the arms race ends (as all previous arms races have ended) in war or in a complete breakdown of both Soviet and Western economies.

In short, Tokaev's exposition of the power of the Soviet war machine is another argument for those who believe that the time has come for all peace-loving people to make it clear that they reject both military monsters and unite only to tackle humanity's real problem: that of providing a decent living standard for all human beings.

POLITICS

The Heresy of Democracy, by Lord Percy of Newcastle. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 18s.

"WE are all democrats now"—even the Communists. Lord Percy concedes them the title. After all, he argues, their political theory derives directly from a misinterpretation of *The Social Contract*: and the same misinterpretation (he himself thinks it the correct interpretation) has inspired most other self-styled democrats. To the Frenchman, no less than the Russian or Chinese, "democracy" means the absolute sovereignty of the people—or of the Party presumed to represent the people.

Against this heresy Christians have sometimes pitted a misinterpretation of *The City of God* (this too Lord Percy inclines to think the correct interpretation)—ascribing absolute sovereignty, over people and governments alike, to the institutional Church. The doctrine of the "two swords" bedevilled European politics down to the French Revolution.

The proper function of a Church, however, is to be "a holy communion" separated from the world of politics, not coercing but converting men: a moral authority. Such an authority the Primitive Church did actually constitute, as did the monastic and mendicant Orders later; and it was thanks to them that the Christian ethos so far permeated society as to make possible a Moral State.

This thesis Lord Percy develops with a wealth of historical, philosophical and theological learning. His book is a valuable contribution to political thought: and whatever politicians may suppose, political action is the better for thought. But he might have done well to point out that, if the distinction of any institution, whether State or Church, that lays claim to absolute sovereignty, is the belief that all means whatever are justified by the end, the distinction of a moral authority has been, and always will be, its challenge to this belief—a challenge that can be substantiated today only through the renunciation of war.

F. A. LEA.

RELIGION

The Life To Come by Stephen Hobhouse. Independent Press, 6s.

LIFE after death has been one of the greatest human problems since man became man. The claim of Christ that He had conquered death was not only His greatest claim, but was the reason that Christianity took root. Early Christians preached not so much "salvation from sin" as immortality—"salvation from death."

This book takes immortality for granted. As so many people today, even nominal Christians are doubtful and perplexed about the fact of immortality, it would have been good if the author could have found space to have stated in Biblical, scientific and modern terms the case for belief in "the Life to Come." Instead,

● On page seven

OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

for Peace, Justice, Animal Welfare, Healing, and truly spiritual religion.

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16 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, London, N.5.

ON CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES PAX OPPOSES WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

If ever a generation ought to hear the cry: "War on War" rise from the depths of its conscience, it is certainly the present.

—POPE PIUS XII, CHRISTMAS 1944.

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"The Barlowes of Beddington"

THERE must have been many listening to "National Radio Awards" (Light), who wondered what it was all about. As a mutual admiration party it excelled.

If some of the awards had been based on a majority vote of the thirty million listeners we would despair, believing our national appetite for soporifics to be insatiable. Fortunately we can congratulate ourselves that only a minute portion of listeners voted, that the use of the word "National" has no significance and that the Daily Mail is hard to beat at advertising.

★

In "Juliet of Narbonne" (Third), Sasha Moorsom and Rayner Heppenstall were wise in the selection of the cast for their arrangement of Neiphila's Tale.

Whether the high standard of the performance compensated for a straight reading from the Decameron is debatable. The anonymous translation of 1620 has stood the test of time. We can understand the excusable zeal of mere Magistrates wishing to exterminate the classics, but what prompted the BBC to experiment with its enlightened audience?

★

"England won the Ashes. Colonial Prime Ministers consider the international situation." (BBC 8 a.m. news.) Let us hope they insisted on the removal of the US Air Force from this country, reminding our own PM that some "Ashes" are not cause for rejoicing.

★

Compliments to the BBC on "The Barlowes of Beddington" (Light), a school serial without foppish masters and paragon boys. This, we forecast, will be a great favourite with the juniors who have been so sadly neglected in evening programmes.

The headmaster (Patrick Bar) and his wife (Pauline Jameson), are convincing characters matured by mutual sorrow—the death of their own son. Under their control the future of the school is most promising. However, while we have no objection to the Beddington prefects as such, their signs of office and being addressed as "Mister" by the masters' wives, we do object to their power to administer corporal punishment.

The power to "lord it over" juniors encourages not only the brutal enjoyment of power to which boys are so susceptible, but imprints on the victim (not on the seat of his trousers), an emotional condition of personal injury under which he labours until his humiliation is assuaged by retaliation upon another.

Obviously Warren Chetham-Strode will arrange that the boys selected for thrashings by the prefects are bullies, but the error lies in popularising the view that a headmaster, by delegating power to immature minds, absolves himself from exercising his mature discretion.

Punishment should never be inflicted unless there is a reasonable certainty it benefits a child's will. The immaturity of prefects precludes the profound knowledge of child nature necessary for such balanced decisions.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, February 11
CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m.; The Union. Public Mtg. Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, Mr. E. Cunningham. "Report on Russia." For.
LONDON, S.E.9: 7.30 p.m.; 506 Foots Cray Rd. (21 bus to County Gate). Business Meeting and Discussion: "The Deeper Implications of Pacifism." Young CO's especially welcome. Eltham PPU.
Sunday, February 13
LEEDS: 3 p.m.; City Museum (Lecture Hall), Park Row. George Craddock, MP. "German Rearmament—Or Negotiation?" Public Mtg.; Leeds Joint Action for Peace.

Tuesday, February 15
LONDON, E.3: 7.30 p.m.; Kingsley Hall. "Fortitude: Birthday at Home." Hostess, Muriel Lester. Musical items, etc. Kingsley Hall.

Wednesday, February 16
LONDON, W.C.1: 12.30 p.m.; Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Mrs. Mary Stocks, B.Sc., "The Situation in Israel." WIL.
BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Selina Arthur's, 4 Meridian Rd., Redland. Isa M. Preuss. "Humanism and Peace." Central Group PPU.

Wednesday, February 16
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Frederick St. C. Pietzner. "Fundamental Principles of R. Steiner's World Conception." For.
WALTHAMSTOW: 8 p.m.; Marsh St. Congregational Church, High St. Rev. Claud Colman, M.A., B.Litt. "Is it Peace?" United Service. For.

Thursday, February 17
LONDON, W.11: 7.30 p.m.; IVSP Centre, 19 Pembroke Villas. Sir Richard Acland, MP. "War on Want." IVSP.
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. J. Allen Skinner (Editor, Peace News), "The Third Way." PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

WEDNESDAYS
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LETTERS

S. Africa and British policy

I FIND it most incongruous and hurtful to refer to the Government of the Union of South Africa as "Africa." Your paragraph entitled "Do Not Boycott Africa; Help Her" seems strangely out of keeping with the situation. To refer to the European Government of South Africa as "Africa" is surely grotesque.

I would agree that the proposal of Rev. Hubert Trapp (PN January 14) that individual members of the general public should boycott South African goods is entirely Utopian, and can have no practical effect. On the other hand, the Reverend Michael Scott's proposal (PN January 21) is equally unrealistic.

The South African Government has just expelled 60,000 Africans from their homes in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, and has demolished the homes they had built for themselves on their own freehold plots—some of them quite charming little villa residences. Their property having been arbitrarily destroyed by Government order, they are now being herded into "Meadowlands" a location in the bush, where they are to occupy rows of wretched huts roofed with asbestos in which a hole is left to receive the occupier's own stovepipe.

I would observe that the World Bank in the years 1951-54 has lent to the Government of the Union of South Africa \$110 million. There is nothing to suggest that the loan or grant to the South African Government proposed by the Reverend Michael Scott would alter the hideous racial policy which the Government of the Union of South Africa is following.

To suggest that such a loan or individual refusal to buy South African goods, could in any degree mitigate the sufferings of the African people would merely raise false hopes, and would be utterly deceptive. More practical ideas than these must be devised if any help is to be given to the people of South Africa by British sympathisers.

The United Nations has the power to take action in the interests of humanity and civilisation, but so long as the United Kingdom Government supports the Government of the Union of South Africa in the United Nations, there is little hope that the United Nations will take any effective action.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

3 Charteris Rd.,
Woodford Green, Essex.

Banning the H-bomb

THE Rev. Paget King seems to have entirely missed my point, and continues to reiterate an argument against something that has not been said.

May I repeat once more, that it is not because the Ban-the-Bomb advocates do not go the whole pacifist way that I do not wish to travel with them, but because, in my view they are going the wrong way.

As for the Mosley Peace Campaign, I would point out that I did not mention the British Peace Committee, who are not the only body to run a Ban-the-bomb campaign. To say my remark is "farfetched" is no argument! In fact Mosley's campaign was supported by many well-known people who were not members, or ever likely to be, of the British Union of Fascists. They sincerely desired to prevent a second World War with Germany. My point is that pacifists were not then continually "under fire," so to speak, for not joining with them in that campaign.

To me, it is attempts to ban the bomb that seems an "idle dream," while unilateral renunciation holds in it more hope than seemed

possible a year ago. There are many others, and some in high places, who are thinking and forthrightly saying the same thing. This is something to which our energies should be turned. I am sure it is the right way.

SYBIL MORRISON.

6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Nationalism

REGINALD REYNOLDS (PN December 31) supposes that war is the result of imperialist aggression and its attack upon "the democratic rights of other people." Until the latter part of the last century, however, "democratic rights" were not obvious in the lands that came under imperial control (and actually conditions were often improved by the new regime) and since that era it is nationalist-imperialism that has defended its own rights. After a couple of generations, descendants of "settlers" have as much right to their place of residence as so-called "natives."

Wars always involve aggression, but such aggression is always easily justified on either side owing to the psychology of nationalist patriotism. Imperialism does not necessarily enter into international wars at all; when (e.g.) Bismarck was finding it difficult to persuade autocratically-inclined William of Prussia to sign a mobilization order in 1870 (while the democrats of Paris were enthusiastically shouting *To Berlin*) it was alleged "national interests" that were in conflict, similarly with the preceding 1866 war and with the clashes of Roumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks. In 1914 too it was "national" antagonisms worked up by propaganda, although some imperial interests played a secondary part.

Reginald Reynolds asks what I would do about oppression. While repudiating the idea that non-nationalist government implies oppression, I would advocate the relief of genuine grievances by a policy of Personism in place of nationalism which never does more than substitute one discrimination for a previous one. The weak spot of modern imperialism is that it is itself nationalist, so can hardly logically condemn the malady elsewhere. Gandhi's type of nationalism possessed the uncommon element of pacifism, but was substantially worth no more than any other normal brand. To make a policy of Personism effective, the right people must be in control of educational machinery. This may seem far off, but all policies are dependent upon circumstances and uncertain factors.

John Jeremy (PN December 31) is correct in supposing that I advocated no bias against any form of government. Obviously oligarchies may "choose badly," that is why I suggested that the aims and not the mere form of a government should be the criterion. Instead of answering the question I asked him, Mr. Jeremy presents me with a new one and inquires how the Russian government would deal with resistance to a disarmament programme. That problem would be one for Moscow, not for John Jeremy or John Nibb, and its solution does not absolve my critic from saying whether he would or would not approve of a peace policy initiated by a minority without majority approval. Incidentally his presumption that internal disturbances could not be curbed by a government that had discarded armaments is, I think, unsound; adequate police force is very different from atom bombs.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, WC1.

"COMICS"

From page six

The pressure of well-organised opinion has already had some effect, for the leading British publisher of horror-type US "comics" not long ago announced that he will stop publishing them. However, that does not mean that all is well. It is still possible to buy "comics" that offend not merely against good taste but also human decency.

Another hopeful sign is the setting up in the United States of the "Comics" Code Authority, modelled on the voluntary control principle adopted by Hollywood film-makers many years ago. Twenty-eight out of thirty-one major "comics" publishers have drawn up a code which is being administered by Mr. C. F. Murphy, a former magistrate in New York city.

Mr. Murphy has declared that his staff are anxious to eliminate "the grosser forms of horror, terror and violence" as well as "ugly facial distortions" and objectionable advertising. These are laudable aims and one can only hope that they will in large measure be achieved. If so, the change will no doubt in due course be reflected in the "comics" that appear to fascinate so many of our children.

RELIGION

From page six

one finds a detailed description of what we may expect the hereafter to be.

Stephen Hobhouse has written *THE LIFE TO COME* "to extend our field of hopes and expectations some way into the unseen regions which lie on the other side of the change we call death."

"Evangelicals" will probably welcome this book: it will probably depress and disappoint second-class Christians who, after doing a poor-best in this difficult and troublous existence on earth, are promised no more than a "shorter or longer course of disciplinary suffering" before they can enter the "angelic life of Heaven." The failures of earth will probably be ultimately "redeemed," but one wonders whether they would not prefer that this life finished with death, to the immortality which the author thinks is in store for them for a limitless time before redemption.

Poets and mystics are entitled to their license; the author has taken his full share. The book is beautifully written, but is of the substance of imagination, dreams, speculations, wishful-thinking, pious hope and Christian "castles in the air."

WALLACE HANCOCK.

We lose two readers

W.R.A. (28.1.1955): "I don't see why I should distress myself week after week by reading your anti-Communist sneers, so I have told the newsagent to discontinue PN after next week."

M.I.C. (30.1.1955): "I do not agree with many things in your paper so do not wish to continue taking it. Although Communism may be all right in Russia I dislike the form it takes in other countries and do not wish it for our country."

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INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen Sq. All welcome.

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See also page five

PERSONAL

CYRIL and CONNIE THORPE thank West Midlands Area PPU Members for their wedding gift, which was greatly appreciated.

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Sybil Morrison**THE RIDDLE OF DR. GARBETT**

Instead of a code of laws Christ gave His disciples a standard by which they were to govern their lives and test their thoughts, words and actions—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy mind and with all thy strength," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." He told them "there is no other commandment greater than these" . . . This love was not to be primarily emotional, it was to show itself both in action and words . . .

I do not myself feel that Christians would be right to demand that this country alone should abandon nuclear weapons . . . It is more than doubtful if Great Britain would escape bombing by her refusal to make and possess these bombs. The first results of her decision would be the withdrawal of the American Air Forces from this country . . . Our small island would be the first to suffer in this gigantic struggle in which each combatant used every weapon at his disposal.

—Cyril Garbett, Archbishop of York, World Problems of Today.

IT is not my purpose to review Dr. Garbett's book, published to coincide with his eightieth birthday, since there will be a notice of it by Stuart Morris in next week's issue, but merely to examine the puzzling paradox of his conflicting pronouncements.

The Archbishop of York, whoever he may be at any given time, and there have been many famous holders of the Office, commands, by his very position in the Church, a large public hearing for his words and opinions.

The present Archbishop has never hesitated to put forward his views on public affairs, and his courage in doing so cannot be denied since there are many who still incline to the belief that the Church should keep out of politics.

Hitler also, as it happens, held the view that the Church had one job—men's souls—and he, as the ruler of the state, another job—men's bodies.

This division is so arbitrary and so obviously untrue, that there is little need to argue it, but nevertheless it may be equally dangerous to say that State and Church, body and soul, are one only so long as the State in all political matters has the last word, and is the final judge of right or wrong in such matters.

It would have been good to find Dr. Garbett authoritatively stating that the Church must have the final word; that the soul is more important than the body, and that Christian people should suit their actions to the word of God.

But this he does not say, and it is a most perplexing problem to see how, believing the Christian teaching to be divine, he yet continues to examine the question of atomic warfare on the grounds of expediency alone.

To say "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" but it may be necessary in some circumstances to destroy him with weapons

of torture as terrible as any used by Hitler or the Spanish Inquisition, is a most unhappy pronouncement from any Christian, let alone a Prelate of the Church.

A demand that this country should abandon nuclear weapons could come only from a fundamental conviction that, as Christians we can do no other. It is not a matter for academic argument, it is a matter for the conscience.

★

The immediate consequences of doing what is morally right, are, of course, unforeseeable and unpredictable, but even so Dr. Garbett's predictions are open to considerable doubt. It seems very unlikely that British unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb would cause the USA to withdraw their Air Force, upon which Dr. Garbett seems to set such store, but much more likely that they would send re-inforcements to see that their little buffer island remained a bulwark against bombs upon their own shores.

It is an unwarranted assumption, however, that the consequences of doing what is morally right must inevitably be evil ones; in any case if the Christian standard of living, as Dr. Garbett himself lays it down, is that man should love his neighbour as himself, the use and even the mere threat of use of nuclear weapons is deliberately to reject the Christian standard.

If loving ones neighbour as oneself is not to be tried until all neighbours have agreed to love each other; if no example is to be set; if no one Christian country is to find the courage to accept the Christian standard and apply it, then the world will plunge to its shattered end, while Christians stand aside pusillanimously excusing themselves from any responsibility for the disaster.

Once again the voice of the Church has failed to give the great call which would make God's word real; fortunately neither the Church nor the State need have the last word; it may yet be the "common man" who will speak it, and act upon it, for it remains true that wars will cease when men refuse to fight.

Holiday Conferences**PPU WILL DISCUSS
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FOR this year's Summer Holiday Conference, the Peace Pledge Union have secured an excellent centre at Borth, Wales, from July 30 to August 3.

The fine building, which used to be the Grand Hotel, was given to the Welsh League of Youth as a conference centre and is now called Pantyfedwen. Within a hundred yards of Borth railway station and opposite the bus stop from Aberystwyth, it is an excellent centre for excursions.

Borth itself is a seaside village on Cardigan Bay, and Pantyfedwen overlooks the lovely sandy bathing beach.

The meals at Pantyfedwen are prepared by an experienced chef, and provision will be made for vegetarians. Sleeping accommodation consists mainly of bedrooms containing two or three single beds, and all bedrooms have hot and cold running water.

Members of the conference will be free to make their own arrangements during the day, though some excursions will be arranged if required. The programme for the evenings will include discussions on "Problems of Personal Relationships for Pacifists":

- a) Parents and Children;
- b) The CO and the Tribunal;
- c) Pacifists and their Neighbours.

John Kay of Bootham School and Sybil Morrison, PPU organiser, will open the first two discussions. There will also be an "Any Questions" meeting and a social evening.

The inclusive cost for adults is £6 10s. 0d. and for children £5 7s. 6d., and families will be especially welcome.

"We look forward to a happy holiday in ideal surroundings and with the special opportunity for fellowship with other pacifists and interesting discussions," Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU told Peace News last week.

To cover actual bookings 45 places have been reserved. It is hoped, however, to make arrangements to include later applicants up to a total of 80. Applications should be sent in as soon as possible, accompanied by a deposit of 30s. for each reservation.

**WORLD VEGETARIANS TO
HEAR ITALIAN WAR RESISTER**

ONE of Italy's leading war resisters, Prof. Aldo Capitini, will be on the panel of speakers for the Fourteenth World Vegetarian Congress.

Venue will be the Cité Universitaire, Paris. Fee for the Congress from July 31 to August 6 is £13.

Reservations, accompanied by £1 deposit, to Mr. Brobecker, 21 rue de Diane, Argenteuil, Paris.

**"PARTNERS IN
PEACEMAKING"**

"PARTNERS in Peacemaking" will be the theme of a youth holiday conference to be held at Easter at The Mount, Haverhill in Suffolk.

The conference, which is being organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will consider such questions as: Can we ensure that science is used for good? Is the individual helpless—or hopeless? Is world hunger inevitable? Can the Church unite the world?

Speakers will include Fenner Brockway, the Member of Parliament for Eton and Slough, who is chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom; Jack Boag, a scientist engaged in medical research, who has recently returned from the United States; and Joyce Stewart, science mistress at King Edward VI Grammar School in Birmingham, who is Birmingham treasurer of the For.

The conference brochure quotes the statement in 1950 by the World Council of Churches to the effect that "Man's rebellion against his Creator has reached such a point that, unless stayed, it will bring self-destruction upon him." It then goes on to invite young people who are concerned with these things to attend the conference. Details can be obtained from the For, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

Are H-tests legal?

□ FROM PAGE ONE

and to prevent Britain and the Commonwealth being drawn into any threat of military action against the Peking Government.

"We believe that the basis of co-existence laid down by you presents a realistic possibility of easing the present tension, and we hope that you will be encouraged to pursue your policy in that direction, and that you will find an increasing number of other governments and groups who refuse to be drawn into the power struggle between the two blocs."

Communications were also sent to Sir Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee and the Foreign Secretary. These stressed the hope that not only would the British Government do everything in its power to make negotiations possible, but that it would clarify the fact that under no circumstances would it allow Britain to be involved in any military commitment or action over Formosa.

It was also pointed out that the present critical situation emphasises the need for the admission of the representative of the Peking Government to the United Nations.

CORRECTION

We regret that in the Fulham Tribunal report in Peace News on January 21, the name of the applicant given as R. D. Maunders should have been E. D. Drewett.



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